Thereupon, the Senate, at 12:37 p.m., recessed until 2:15 p.m.; whereupon, the Senate reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. COATS).

EMERGENCY SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS AND RESCISSIONS ACT

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will now resume consideration of H.R. 889, which the clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 889) making emergency supplemental appropriations and rescissions to preserve and enhance the military readiness of the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1995, and for other purposes.

The Senate resumed consideration of the bill.

Pending:

Bumpers amendment No. 330, to restrict the obligation or expenditure of funds on the NASA/Russian Cooperative MIR program.

Kassebaum amendment No. 331 (to committee amendment beginning on page 1, line 3), to limit funding of an Executive order that would prohibit Federal contractors from hiring permanent replacements for striking workers.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The chair, in his capacity as a Senator from the State of Indiana, suggests the absence of a quorum.

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Under the previous order, the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD] is recognized.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I thank the Chair.

What is the pending question before the Senate?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The business before the Senate is the Kassebaum amendment, No. 331, to H.R. 889.

Mr. BYRD. I thank the Chair.

Mr. President, although this amendment only directly affects workers involved in Government contracts, there is a deeper principle—a principle which goes to the rights of other workers to act in concert—in other words, to strike—to bring about improved working conditions, better wages, safety and health protection, and so on. It is a principle for which many men have given their lives, and, as one who grew up in the southern coal mining counties of West Virginia, I rise today in opposition to this amendment.

I was raised by a coal miner; I married a coal miner's daughter; my days as a boy and as a young man were spent in coal mining surroundings, and as a young man I worked in the coal mining company stores in Raleigh County and Fayette County, West Virginia. I lived at various times in Mercer and McDowell and Raleigh and Fayette Counties—all of which were big coal producers—and my uncle, who raised me, worked in the mines of Mercer, McDowell and Raleigh counties. Therefore, I shall reflect in my remarks today, on the conditions under which the coal miners worked when I was a boy and which led to the unionization of the miners. I shall refer to the social conditions under which the coal miners labored to raise their families, and I shall also speak of the trials and turmoils that attended the coming of the union to the southern counties of my State. To fully comprehend the importance of the ability of workers to collectively bargain—in other words, to strike—and to belong to a union, no industry is more illustrive than the mining industry in West Virginia.

Geologists place the beginnings of the Coal Age at about 315 million years ago, at the start of what is known in geologic time as the Pennsylvanian period. This, together with the earlier Mississippian period, make up the Carboniferous Age. The first Coal Age is thought to have lasted approximately 45 million years. Almost all of the valuable coal seams were laid during the Pennsylvanian period. These deposits stretched from the Canadian maritime provinces south to Alabama, generally paralleling the Appalachian Mountain chain. West Virginia was blessed with a great concentration of this natural resource, and from the beginnings of coal mining in the early 1800's, the economy, welfare, and political life of West Virginia had been largely dependent upon this ''black gold,'' which underlies a great portion of my State. Coal was not a very important resource in West Virginia until after the Civil War, when the advent of the railroads made the coal fields accessible and brought thousands of miners into the State.

Since the advent of coal mining, West Virginia has been fertile ground for outside exploitation, massive labor confrontations, union organizing, and a multitude of political intrigues. The coal fields have provided great wealth to individuals and to corporations—many or most of which, as I have stated, were outsiders—while many of the miners and their families have known equally great poverty. Great wealth for the outside interests; great poverty for the men who toiled in the mines to bring out the coal. West Virginians have seen their State's landscapes altered by underground mining and more recently by the impact of strip mining, and the State's economy has been buffeted by the up-and-down cycle brought on by vacillating prices and other economic factors, many or most of which were beyond the immediate control of the coal miners themselves.

As Stan Cohen states in his fascinating treatise, titled ''King Coal, a Pictorial Heritage of West Virginia Coal Mining,'' coal was sighted as early as 1790 in the northern part of the State, which, at that time, was a part of the State of Virginia. As transportation methods improved, the thick Pittsburgh coal seam, prominent in northern West Virginia, assured the area of a steady growth in coal production as transportation methods improved. I quote from Mr. Cohen's work:

Mines were operating in the Fairmont region by 1850 for local consumption. When the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad reached Fairmont in 1853, markets opened up as far East as Baltimore. The coal fields around Wheeling, and the Northern Panhandle, were also mined prior to the Civil War; the coal was needed for a fledgling iron industry in that city that had begun before the War of 1812. The Baltimore and Ohio reached Wheeling in the early 1850's, providing access to eastern markets.

The northern coal fields assumed greater importance during the Civil War, when supplies from Virginia were cut off. The larger cities of the East needed a steady supply of coal for heating purposes and war-related industries. Union forces were able to keep the Baltimore and Ohio and the Norfolk and Western railroads open to Washington, D.C., and Baltimore, notwithstanding constant raids by the Confederates. The end of the war saw the expansion of coal mining in Marion, Taylor, Preston, Monongalia, Barbour, and Harrison Counties.

The coal fields in southern West Virginia—those in Logan, Mingo, Wyoming, Mercer, McDowell, Wayne, and Summers—had to wait for the coming of the railroads to that section in the late 19th century to realize their vast potential.

Mr. President, coal mining in southern West Virginia is a vast storehouse of history. It is a story of struggle, oftentimes violent struggle—a story of courageous men and women demanding and fighting for their rights, for their dignity, and for their freedom. As David Alan Corbin, relates in his work titled ''The West Virginian Mine Wars'':

Like the Civil Rights movement of the 1960's, the miners' organizing effort had good and bad characters. Each story involved brutality, destruction, and death. And both movements are stories of oppressed, exploited people fighting for dignity, self-respect, human rights, and freedom. Both are stories of courageous men and women doing heroic things under extraordinary circumstances against extraordinary foes.

Corbin refers to the Matewan massacre in 1920 as having parallels to the Old-West-style shootout on the main street of town. The killings of Sid Hatfield and Ed Chambers on the steps of the McDowell County courthouse in Welch was a gangland type ''hit'', and the ensuing march on Logan was Civil War.

And if ever my colleagues have the opportunity, I hope they will visit Matewan, in Mingo County, the southernmost part of West Virginia. McDowell County is an adjoining county. I lived in McDowell County as a little boy, and my coal miner dad worked in mines at Landgraff.

There on the courthouse steps, ascending the hill leading to the McDowell County Courthouse in Welch, can still be seen the bullet holes. Sid Hatfield and his wife, Ed Chambers and his wife, were ascending the steps. Sid Hatfield and Ed Chambers were shot dead by the Baldwin-Felts gunmen.